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With concurrence of:

obtained DEPARTMENT OF STATE
DOD by Date 12-14-16
ACTION MEMORANDUM

S/S

Peto Chile

~~CONFIDENTIAL (Entire text)~~

TO : D - Mr. Christopher

TO : P - Mr. Newsom

Through

FROM : PM - Reginald Bartholomew
ARA - William G. Bowdler *WGB*
HA - Patt DerianCHILEAN AND ARGENTINE PARTICIPATION IN
U.S. NAVAL EXERCISE UNITAS XXI 1980Issue for Decision

-- Whether the Department of State should concur in a DOD invitation to the Chilean and Argentine Navies to participate in the 1980 U.S. naval exercise UNITAS.

Essential Factors

For the last twenty years, the U.S. Navy has made an annual cruise around the South American continent conducting exercises at sea with naval and air forces in the hemisphere. DOD seeks our concurrence in the attached telegram asking Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Uruguay, Venezuela and Chile to participate in conferences, beginning in March, which will plan the June-October 1980 cruise.

PM concurs in inviting all participants; ARA and S/P agree to invite all but Chile; HA agrees to all except Chile and Argentina.

DOD/PM Position on Chile

PM supports DOD's view that the exclusion of Chile from UNITAS would exceed the specific Letelier case sanctions approved by the President and could lead to a suspension of military-to-military relations which was not contemplated in that decision.

This would be injurious to our security interests because of the important contribution made by the Chilean Navy to defense of the sea lanes which support our swing strategy. It would also reduce our influence over regional political developments -- especially our ability to deter Chilean military actions if the Beagle Channel dispute flares up again.

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GDS 2/12/86

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To exclude Chile would break a twenty-year precedent of annual invitations to all maritime Rio Treaty allies regardless of varying political circumstances and would pose serious logistical problems for the U.S. Navy, because of the added fuel and lost time consumed in doubling back through the Panama Canal to reach the East Coast countries.

PM therefore recommends that Chile be invited to join UNITAS XXI.

ARA, HA and S/P Position on Chile

ARA, HA and S/P believe it would be inconsistent for us to invite Chile to join in UNITAS XXI so soon after we have taken punitive actions in response to the Chilean decision in the Letelier case. Such punitive action focused to a great extent on U.S. relations with the Chilean military (e.g., the termination of the FMS pipeline, the phasing-out of the Milgroup, the holding up of export licenses for Chilean Armed Forces). UNITAS participation usually involves high level representational events, public performances by a U.S. Navy band and considerable press coverage. Going forward with such cooperative joint military exercises would symbolize a close relationship contrary to the intended effect of our sanctions.

PM, ARA, and S/P Position on Argentina

As DOD points out, the U.S. extended an invitation to Argentina for the UNITAS exercise in each of the last three years, despite U.S. concern over human rights. Since last year's invitation, human rights conditions in Argentina have improved significantly.

As General Goodpaster reported to the Secretary, he suggested joint exercises as among possible steps to foster cooperation and found considerable Argentine interest. Goodpaster also discussed concerns over Soviet activity in the South Atlantic.

As a result of the Goodpaster mission, Argentina agreed to cooperate with the United States in limiting its grain sales to the Soviet Union. There is strong evidence that Argentina (unlike Brazil) is restricting sales.

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Linking the UNCHR to the UNITAS invitation would not affect Argentina's positions in that forum. Our instructions to the US delegation in Geneva already provide for a variety of possible actions the USDEL might take in that forum with respect to Argentina.

A decision on whom to invite needs to be taken now. It has already been delayed well beyond the normal time -- December -- for the extension of invitations, and further delay would give participants inadequate planning time.

HA Position on Argentina

HA believes we should not extend a formal invitation to participate in the UNITAS planning conferences until we are able to ascertain more precisely the extent of Argentine cooperation in restricting grain exports to the U.S.S.R. and whether Argentina will live up to its commitment to us not to oppose the establishment by the UN Human Rights Commission of a universal procedure to deal with the question of disappeared persons. The U.S. Delegation to the UNHRC reported on February 7 that "Argentina has been quite blatant in its politicking in the HRC (and has) taken positions obstructing the Commission's progress. USDEL is disturbed by Argentina's close alliance with the U.S.S.R. in support of positions clearly detrimental to U.S. human rights efforts and objectives." (GENEVA 1975, attached). We expect to be in a position to make more conclusive judgments within about two weeks.

We see nothing to be lost by postponing a final decision for two weeks. The planning conferences will not begin until mid-March, and according to the draft telegram (attached) from the Chief of Naval Operations there appears to be considerable flexibility in scheduling these "round-robin" planning conferences. On the other hand, once the invitation is extended it would be extremely difficult to withdraw it without causing additional problems.

HA believes that, if Argentina is to be invited, it would be wise to limit that portion of the exercises to purely operational matters, i.e., exercises at sea and brief refueling stops in port. We would oppose scheduling the usual high-visibility shore activities, such as band performances, representational dinners and dances, and press interviews, because of the political

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symbolism involved. We doubt that the Argentines would have a problem limiting their participation; last year the Argentine Navy specifically requested us to follow a low-key, low visibility approach. (e.g., 79 Buenos Aires 7112, attached).

Recommendations

-- Concur in an invitation to Chile to join in UNITAS XXI, (supported by PM, opposed by ARA, HA AND S/P).

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

-- Concur in an invitation to Argentina to join in UNITAS XXI (supported by PM, ARA and S/P; opposed by HA)

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

-- Recommend postponing until February 25 a decision on whether to invite Argentina to participate in UNITAS Planning Conferences. (Supported by HA; opposed by ARA, PM, S/P).

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

-- If Argentina is to be invited, its participation should be limited, as in 1979, to at-sea exercises and refueling, with no public relations or representational activities ashore. (supported by HA; opposed by PM, ARA and S/P)

Approve _____ Disapprove _____

Drafted:PM/ISO:RBurke;MPStrutzel;ARA/AND/CH:PWhitney;
ARA/ECA:GJWhitman
2/1/80 X25399

Clearance:
S/P:SPurcell
HA/HR:PFlood

JOINT MESSAGEFORM

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UNITAS XXI PLANNING CONFERENCE (U)

1. (C) FOR THE PAST SEVERAL YEARS, UNITAS PLANNING CONFERENCES HAVE BEEN OF THE ROUND-ROBIN TYPE, WITH MEMBERS OF THE USCOMSOLANT STAFF AND REPS OF THE UNITAS DESRON CDR, SUBMARINE AND VP SQUADRONS VISITING VARIOUS SOAM HQTRS, AND SOME SOAM NAVY REPS VISITING ROOSEVELT ROADS. THIS TYPE OF PLANNING CONFERENCE CONTINUES TO BE PREFERABLE TO BOTH SOAM AND USN AS IT PERMITS BROADEST POSSIBLE PARTICIPATION OF SOUTH AMERICAN NAVIES IN THE PLANNING PROCESS. IT ALSO STIMULATES ADVANCE INTEREST IN AND A SENSE OF OWNERSHIP OF THE UNITAS OPERATION IN EACH OF THE PARTICIPATING COUNTRIES, THUS

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ENHANCING UNITAS EFFECTIVENESS. IT IS, THEREFORE, PROPOSED THAT THE
 FROM
UNITAS XXI PLANNING CONFERENCES CONTINUE THIS PROCEDURE.

2. {C} IT ALSO IS PROPOSED THAT UNITAS XXI ATTEMPT TO EMPHASIZE
 HEMISPHERIC SOLIDARITY THROUGH MULTILATERAL PHASES.

3. {U} IN ORDER TO FACILITATE TIMELY ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE UNITAS
XXI PLANNING CONFERENCE IN MAR/APR/MAY 80, ACTION ADDRESSEES ARE
 REQUESTED TO DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO HOST NAVY CNO/CINC,
 SUBJECT TO THE CONCURRENCE OF THE U.S. AMBASSADOR, QUOTES

FROM: CHIEF OF NAVAL OPERATIONS

TO: CNO/CINC OF ARGENTINA, BRAZIL, CHILE, COLOMBIA, ECUADOR, PERU,
 URUGUAY, VENEZUELA

UNCLAS

UNITAS XXI PLANNING CONFERENCE

1. UNITAS XX IS NOW HISTORY. THESE TWENTY YEARS OF VOLUNTARY
 COMBINED OPERATIONS HAVE BEEN A CLEAR EXPRESSION OF OUR MUTUAL
 COMMITMENT AND INTEREST IN FREEDOM OF THE SEAS AND HEMISPHERIC
 DEFENSE.

2. AS WE BEGIN OUR THIRD DECADE OF THESE MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL
 COMBINED OPERATIONS, IT SEEMS APPROPRIATE THAT WE TAKE THIS

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OPPORTUNITY TO EMPHASIZE HEMISPHERIC SOLIDARITY.
 FROM

3. I WOULD PROPOSE THAT UNITAS XXI COMMENCE IN MID-JUNE AND PROCEED
IN A COUNTER-CLOCKWISE DIRECTION AND CONSIST OF SEVERAL PHASES WITH
MULTILATERAL REPRESENTATION AND PARTICIPATION TO ENHANCE OUR
COMBINED OPERATIONAL CAPABILITY AND TO HIGHLIGHT HEMISPHERIC
SOLIDARITY. IDEALLY, UNITAS XXI MIGHT CONSIST OF A COMBINED TASK
FORCE WITH UNITS FROM ALL PARTICIPATING COUNTRIES. FOR MANY VALID
REASONS, IT WOULD NOT BE POSSIBLE FOR ALL COUNTRIES TO PROVIDE UNITS
FOR THE ENTIRE OPERATION. HOWEVER, IT MAY BE POSSIBLE FOR {{COUNTRY}}
TO PROVIDE SOME UNITS FOR SOME OTHER PHASES--EITHER PRECEDING OR
FOLLOWING THEIR BILATERAL NATIONAL PHASE. THIS WOULD REQUIRE, OF
COURSE, AGREEMENT BY ALL NAVIES INVOLVED. I ASK YOU TO GIVE
CONSIDERATION TO THE FEASIBILITY AND POSSIBILITY OF OPERATING SOME
 {{COUNTRY}} UNITS IN UNITAS XXI AS PART OF THE IMMEDIATE PRECEDING
AND/OR SUCCEEDING PHASE IN ADDITION TO THE NORMALLY SCHEDULED U.S./
 {{COUNTRY}} BILATERAL PHASE.

4. THE ROUND-ROBIN CONFERENCES HELD FOR THE PAST SEVEN YEARS
HAVE BEEN QUITE EFFECTIVE AND CAN BE CONTINUED FOR UNITAS XXI.
FOR THOSE NAVIES WHO SO DESIRE, ARRANGEMENTS CAN BE MADE TO CONDUCT

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THEIR PORTION OF THE PLANNING IN ROOSEVELTROADS, PUERTO RICO. THE
FROM:
TIME FRAME OF MARCH, APRIL, AND MAY 1980 IS PROPOSED FOR PLANNING
TO
CONFERENCES.

5. I WOULD APPRECIATE YOUR EARLY VIEWS ON THESE PROPOSALS. SUBJECT TO YOUR GENERAL AGREEMENT, I WILL THEN ASK REAR ADMIRAL P.K. CULLINS, USCOMSOLANT, TO COORDINATE THE LOCATION AND TIMING OF THE CONFERENCE WITH YOUR STAFF. WARM REGARDS. THOMAS B. HAYWARD, ADMIRAL, U.S. NAVY, CHIEF OF NAVAL OPERATIONS.

4. {U} ACTION ADDRESSEES ARE FURTHER REQUESTED TO NOTIFY ORIGINATOR WHEN INVITATION IS DELIVERED AND WHEN RESPONSE IS RECEIVED, INCLUDING CINCLANTFLT, USCOMSOLANT, USCINCSO, AND USNAVEC AS INFO ADDRESSEES.

5. {U} OASD{ISA} AND STATE DEPT CONCUR IN ABOVE PROPOSALS.

DECL 31 JAN 1986

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Department of StateINCOMING
TELEGRAM

PAGE 01 GENEVA 81975 071852Z

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ACTION 10-15

INFO OCT-01 ARA-11 ADS-00 ~~HA-05~~ AF-18 EA-10 EUR-12
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E.O. 12065: GDS 2/7/86 (HELMAN, G. B.) OR-M
 TAGS: UHRC, SHUM, UN
 SUBJECT: 36TH SESSION UHRC: ARGENTINE POSITIONS

1. C - ENTIRE TEXT

2. USDEL LEARNED (TELCON RUSER-COHEN) OF RECENT GOA DEMARCHE TO INFLUENCE US POSITION ON 1503 COMMUNICATION AGAINST ARGENTINA (SEE REF A). CONTRARY TO ARGENTINE INFORMATION, THE WORKING GROUP HAS NOT YET FINISHED ITS WORK NOR ISSUED ITS REPORT. IT IS NOT SCHEDULED TO COMPLETE ITS WORK UNTIL THE WEEK OF FEBRUARY 18. THEREAFTER THE COMMISSION IS EXPECTED TO TAKE UP THE 1503 CASES. LIKE ARGENTINA, USDEL HAS HEARD RUMORS ABOUT SOME OF THE GROUP'S DECISIONS TO DATE BUT SINCE THEIR WORK IS NOT YET COMPLETED AND THEIR REPORT NOT ISSUED WE DO NOT TAKE THESE RUMORS AS FINAL. THE GOA IS CLEARLY EMBARKED ON A CAMPAIGN TO INFLUENCE THE WORKING GROUP PRIOR TO THE COMPLETION OF ITS REPORT AND ALSO TO INFLUENCE COMMISSION CONSIDERATION OF THE REPORT. USDEL CONSIDERS THIS INTERFERENCE WITH THE EFFECTIVE AND FAIR FUNCTIONING OF THE PROCEDURES, THE WORKING GROUP, AND THE FLEXIBILITY STATES SHOULD HAVE TO DECIDE ON THE MERITS OF THE CASE AFTER HEARING THE WORKING GROUP'S RECOMMENDATIONS.

3. IN FACT, ARGENTINA HAS BEEN QUITE BLATANT IN ITS POLITIKING IN THE HRG. THUS, THE GOA TO DATE HAS TAKEN POSITIONS OBSTRUCTING THE COMMISSION'S PROGRESS IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS FIELD. ARGENTINA WAS THE ONLY REPEAT ONLY LATIN AMERICAN STATE TO VOTE WITH THE SOVIET BLOC AND AGAINST THE WEST TO PREVENT THE COMMISSION FROM SENDING A TELEGRAM TO THE USSR ON THE SAKHAROV CASE (SEE REF B). THE VOTE WAS A VERY CLOSE ONE, 15 (SOVIET BLOC) TO 13 SO THAT THE ARGENTINE VOTE COUNTED. OTHER LATIN AMERICAN STATES EITHER JOINED THE WEST IN THE VOTE (COLOMBIA, COSTA RICA, URUGUAY) OR ABSTAINED (BRAZIL, PERU, PANAMA). MOST OF THE 15 WERE SOVIET ALLIES, DEMONSTRATING WHAT IS COMMONLY UNDERSTOOD AMONG HRG DELEGATES TO REFLECT A DEAL COOKED BETWEEN ARGENTINA AND THE USSR TO PROVIDE MUTUAL SUPPORT. THE WEST DID SUCCEED HOWEVER IN ENSURING THAT THE COMMISSION WOULD TAKE UP THE SAKHAROV CASE PUBLICLY AT A LATER TIME UNDER ITEM 12 (THE SAME ITEM ARGENTINA WILL COME UNDER). FUTURE VOTES ON SAKHAROV, KAMPUCHEA, AFGHANISTAN AND IRAN WILL PROVIDE FUTURE TESTS OF ARGENTINA'S POSITION ON HUMAN RIGHTS GENERALLY.

4. THE ARGENTINE DELEGATION ALSO HAS DELAYED AND ULTIMATELY MAY BLOC PROGRESS ON CERTAIN PROVISIONS OF THE TORTURE CONVENTION, ANOTHER HIGH PRIORITY ITEM FOR THE US. ALTHOUGH THE WORKING GROUP ON THE CONVENTION AGAINST TORTURE HAS REACHED THE STAGE WHERE ADOPTION OF ALL ARTICLES EXCEPT PERHAPS THOSE ON AN IMPLEMENTATION MECHANISM IS POSSIBLE AT THIS HRG SESSION, THE ARGENTINE REPRESENTATIVE (WITH CUBAN HELP) OFTEN HAS SINGLEHANDEDLY

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DELAYED OR OBSTRUCTED THE PROGRESS OF THE WORKING GROUP. THIS COULD HOLD UP THE CONVENTION'S EARLY COMPLETION. THEIR USUAL TACTIC IS STUBBORN INSISTENCE ON ARGENTINE AMENDMENTS WHICH ARE OBVIOUSLY INCOMPATIBLE WITH CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEMS OF MOST COUNTRIES REPRESENTED IN THE WORKING GROUP OR WHICH WEAKEN OR HARROW MODEL PROVISIONS IN THE HAGUE (AIRCRAFT HIJACKING), MONTREAL (AIRCRAFT SABOTAGE), NEW YORK (PROTECTION OF DIPLOMATS) AND HOSTAGES CONVENTIONS. SOVIET REPRESENTATIVE IN WORKING GROUP, INITIALLY COOPERATIVE NOW IS SHOWING SIGNS OF BEING ENCOURAGED BY ARGENTINE TACTICS TO BECOME OBSTRUCTIONIST, IN PARTICULAR BY PROPOSING EQUALLY UNACCEPTABLE "COMPROMISES" ON ARGENTINE AMENDMENTS.

5. IN SUMMARY, USDEL IS DISTURBED TO DATE BY ARGENTINE PERFORMANCE AT CHR ON HUMAN RIGHTS QUESTIONS AND BY ITS CLOSE ALLIANCE WITH THE USSR IN SUPPORT OF POSITIONS CLEARLY DETRIMENTAL TO US HUMAN RIGHTS EFFORTS AND OBJECTIVES. THESE POINTS CERTAINLY SHOULD BE RAISED IN ANY FUTURE DEMARCHE THE GOA SHOULD MAKE TO USG ABOUT OUR POSITIONS. FYI. IN CONVERSATIONS BETWEEN USREP SHESTACK AND COLOMBIA AND COSTA RICAN REPS, VIEW EXPRESSED THAT WEAKENING OF US POSITION ON ARGENTINA WOULD BE SEEN AS DEFLECTION FROM US COMMITMENT TO HUMAN RIGHTS.

6. CONVERSATIONS OF HELMAN AND SHESTACK WITH ARGENTINE PERM REP AND HRC REP WILL BE REPORTED SEPTEL. HELMAN

~~Department of State, A/GIS/IPS/SRP~~

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ACTION ARA-15

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E.O. 12065: GDS 8-28-85 (BECK, W.R.) OR-0

TAGS: MILI MARR AR

SUBJ: UNITAS XX (U)

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT)

2. ARGENTINE NAVY ON AUGUST 27 OFFICIALLY INFORMED CHUSMILGP OF INTENTION TO PARTICIPATE IN UNITAS XX. ARGENTINE NAVY FURTHER REQUESTED THAT NO PUBLICITY BE GIVEN TO THEIR PARTICIPATION PRIOR TO COMMENCEMENT OF JOINT U.S.-ARGENTINE OPERATIONS ON 25 SEP 79.

3. ARGENTINE NAVY REASONING FOR NO PRIOR PUBLICITY IS THAT THEY WISH TO HAVE UNITAS XX PARTICIPATION BE CONSIDERED SOLELY A NAVY TO NAVY EXERCISE AND THEY BELIEVE THAT ARTICLES IN EITHER US OR ARGENTINE NEWSPAPERS WOULD TEND TO LEND AN UNDESIRABLE POLITICAL FLAVOR TO THEIR PARTICIPATIONS.

4. COMMENT: ARGENTINE MILITARY ARE STILL SMARTING

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PAGE 02 BUENOS 07112 292125Z

FROM PERCEIVED ATTACKS IN RECENT STATEMENTS BY STATE DEPARTMENT SPOKESMAN. APPARENTLY ARGENTINE NAVY FEARS PRESS SPECULATION ABOUT THEIR MOTIVES FOR PARTICIPATION IN UNITAS XX COULD LEAD TO DOMESTIC CRITICISM, WHICH THEY WISH TO AVOID.

5. RECOMMEND WE CONCUR IN THEIR REQUEST FOR NO ADVANCE PUBLICITY, TO THE EXTENT THIS IS FEASIBLE.

CASTRO

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Chile Aug - Sept 1980